

Message Text

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R 101158Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5641

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 7 SAIGON 7609

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT PFOR PINS VS

SUBJ: FULL TEXT OF THIEU JUNE 6 SPEECH

REF: FBIS S070915 JUNE 7

1. ON JUNE 6, 1974, PRESIDENT THIEU DELIVERED AN ADDRESS TO A GATHERING OF TEACHERS AT THU DUC, NEAR SAIGON. THE REFERENCE TRANSMITTED AN FBIS TRANSLATION OF EXTENSIVE EXCERPTS OF THE THIEU SPEECH AS CARRIED IN THE OFFICIAL VIETNAM PRESS (VNP) JUNE 7. FBIS HAS NOW OBTAINED AND TRANSLATED THE REMAINDER OF THE SPEECH, FULL TEXT OF WHICH IS TRANSMITTED HERewith.

2. GENTLEMEN, DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER TEACHERS:

FIRST OF ALL, I EXTEND MY GREETINGS TO THE NEWLY ELECTED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. THROUGH THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN'S PRESENTATION, I AM VERY GLAD TO NOTE THAT THE BROTHER AND SISTER PARTICIPANTS IN THIS CONVENTION HAVE BEEN WORKING IN A VERY SERIOUS MANNER, IN A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT, WITH EAGERNESS TO PROGRESS, AND WITH THE DETERMINATION TO PROCEED TO ACCOMPLISHING POSITIVE AND FINE THINGS FOR THE TEACHERS IN GENERAL.

3. I HAVE COME HERE TO MEET AND TALK TO YOU BROTHERS AND
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SISTERS -- ALTHOUGH I AM NOT A TEACHER MYSELF AND DO NOT

HAVE A BETTER KNOWLEDGE THAN YOU REGARDING PROFESSIONAL OR OCCUPATIONAL MATTERS--BECAUSE THIS CONVENTION HAS BEEN HELD TO ELECT A NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE THAT WILL REPRESENT THE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, WHICH IS NOT ONLY A DOMESTIC ORGANIZATION, BUT ALSO A MEMBER OF AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. THEREFORE, THE PROBLEM IS, IN MY VIEW, THAT THE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, LIKE ANY OTHER COLLECTIVE, MUST CARRY OUT COLLECTIVE ACTIVITIES. THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, AS WELL AS ANY OTHER COLLECTIVE, MUST HAVE A SET OF RULES OR A DISCIPLINE GOVERNING ITS ACTIVITIES. ANY COLLECTIVE THAT IS INTENT ON CARRYING OUT SERIOUS ACTIVITIES MUST ENJOY CORRECT LEADERSHIP, BECAUSE ONLY BY SERIOUSLY CARRYING OUT ITS ACTIVITIES CAN A COLLECTIVE ACHIEVE RESULTS. THEREFORE, BEFORE COMING HERE, I CONSULTED PRIVATELY WITH THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION FOR DOZENS OF MINUTES. I HOPE THAT HE WILL WORK WITH THE NEWLY ELECTED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO FORMULATE A PROGRAM WHEREBY THE TEACHERS WILL CARRY OUT ACTIVITIES RELATED TO THEIR OCCUPATION, AS WELL AS OTHER ACTIVITIES BEYOND THE SCOPE OF THEIR OCCUPATION, SO AS TO INSURE THAT THEY ACHIEVE AND ENJOY WHAT THEY DESERVE AND WHAT IS COMMENSURATE WITH THEIR DIFFICULT, YET NOBLE, MISSION.

4. THE REASON I SAID THIS IS THAT SOME AUTHORITIES HAVE ADVOCATED USING ANY MASS ORGANIZATIONS OR ASSOCIATIONS AS TOOLS OR PUPPETS TO SUPPORT INDIVIDUALS AND POLITICAL DESIGNS. SOME ORGANIZATIONS, ALTHOUGH NOT USED AS TOOLS OR PUPPETS, TURNED THEMSELVES INTO WORTHLESS ORGANIZATIONS THROUGH THEIR OWN ACTIVITIES. FACED WITH THIS SITUATION, PEOPLE WITH GOOD INTENTIONS AND GOOD WILL WERE DISCOURAGED, AND OUTSIDERS, REALIZING THAT THESE ORGANIZATIONS WERE NOT SERVING ANY PRACTICAL PURPOSE, WERE UNWILLING TO PROVIDE MORAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT FOR THEIR ACTIVITIES.

5. I SAID THIS TO CONFIRM MY STAND, MY STAND IS THAT, AS A NATIONAL LEADER, I HOPE OUR TEACHERS, AS A CLOSELY ORGANIZED COLLECTIVE WITH A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, WILL FORMULATE A PROGRAM FOR REALISTIC, CONSTRUCTIVE AND FLEXIBLE ACTION AIMED AT ACHIEVING USEFUL OBJECTIVES AND IMPROVING THE TEACHERS IN ALL RESPECTS. OTHERWISE YOUR ACTIVITIES WILL NOT ONLY FAIL TO STIR UP ANY ENTHUSIASM
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AMONG THE TEACHERS, BUT WILL ALSO UNDERMINE THEIR CONFIDENCE IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND IN YOUR ASSOCIATION AS A COLLECTIVE.

6. AS FOR ME, ON THE SIDE OF THE GOVERNMENT, I AM PREPARED TO CONSIDER ALL REALISTIC SUGGESTIONS, PROJECTS AND PLANS WHICH YOU PROPOSE. IN THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY AND OUR NATIONAL LIFE, FACED WITH THE PRESENT DIFFICULT NATIONAL SITUATION,

THE ADMINISTRATION MUST ADOPT REALISTIC ACTIONS TOWARD THE PEOPLE OF ALL WALKS OF LIFE, AND IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE LATTER CONTRIBUTE THEIR SUGGESTIONS AND ASSIST THE ADMINISTRATION WITH THEIR ACTIONS. THEREFORE, I PLACE MUCH CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE ACTIVITIES OF THE NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND IN THE TRULY CONSTRUCTIVE PROJECTS AND IDEAS WHICH THE NATIONAL EDUCATION MINISTRY AND YOU WILL PROPOSE TO ME.

7. COMING HERE TODAY, I FIRST OF ALL CONSIDER THAT ALL OF YOU, BEING TEACHERS--NO MATTER AT WHICH LEVEL--APART FROM YOUR DUTY TO EDUCATE THE YOUNG GENERATION, MUST AT THE SAME TIME BE LEADERS AND CADRES, AND NOT SIMPLY ORDINARY CIVIL SERVANTS, AS PEOPLE SAY. THEREFORE, IN TALKING WITH LEADERS, I FEEL DUTY BOUND AS A LEADER TO REFER TO THE NATIONAL SITUATION. I ALSO CONSIDER THAT SCHOOL DISCIPLINE (APPROXIMATELY 30 SECONDS OF BLANK TAPE).

8. I CONSIDER THAT NO MATTER AT WHICH LEVEL OR IN WHICH FIELD, THE TEACHERS MUST PLAY THE ROLE OF CADRES AND ESPECIALLY OF LEADERS. THIS IS BECAUSE OF THE UNDENTABLE FACT THAT UNDER YOU, THERE ARE THE PEOPLE OF A GENERATION WHO NEED GUIDANCE IN MORALS, ETHICS AND AWARENESS OF RESPONSIBILITY AT LEAST AS MUCH AS--IF WE DO NOT WANT TO SAY MORE THAN-- IN THE FIELD OF INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION. THEREFORE, FIRST OF ALL, IF YOU CONSIDER YOURSELVES CADRES AND ACCEPT YOUR DUTY TO LEAD A GENERATION IN ADDITION TO THE DUTY TO EDUCATE IT (APPROXIMATELY 15 SECONDS OF BLANK TAPE).

9. YOU MUST REALIZE THE NEED TO FIRST OF ALL FIRMLY UNDERSTAND THE NATIONAL SITUATION SO AS TO EXPLAIN IT TO YOUR BROTHERS AND CHILDREN. I CONSIDER THAT WE WILL DISPLAY SHORTCOMINGS IN THE EDUCATION FIELD IF WE ONLY CONDUCT STUDIES WITHOUT KNOWING WHAT SITUATION WE ARE IN, WHAT WE

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ARE STUDYING FOR, WHERE OUR COUNTRY WILL GO IN THE FUTURE AND WHAT DIRECTION WE MUST FOLLOW. SECONDARY MEANS WILL BACK THE PRINCIPAL MEANS WHICH IS THE USE OF WEAPONS, FORCE, AND VIOLENCE.

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FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5642

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14. NORTH VIETNAM, WITH A POPULATION OF 20 MILLION, IS INVADING OUR COUNTRY. AND THE NORTH VIETNAMESE LEADERS ARE NOW LEADING A HALF MILLION TROOPS TO INVADE OUR SOUTH. THIS IS A TRUE FACT. WE ARE NOT WORRIED ABOUT THE FACT THAT A NUMBER OF PERSONS, STILL HIDDEN IN OUR RANKS AT HOME AS WELL AS ABROAD, HAVE SOUGHT TO DEFEND THE COMMUNISTS BECAUSE THEY ARE THE LATTER'S HENCHMEN. APART FROM THESE PERSONS, THERE ARE MANY NAIVE PERSONS WHO HAVE FAILED TO GET A CLEAR PICTURE OF THE CURRENT SITUATION. AND A NUMBER OF SEGEMENTS OF WORLD OPINION HAVE PRETENDED TO IGNORE THE TRUTH OR HAVE IRRESPONSIBLY SOUGHT TO DODGE THE TRUTH. SUCH AN ATTITUDE IS CONSISTENT WITH THEIR CUSTOMARY POLITICAL STAND AND ACTIVITIES. ACCORDING TO THEM, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT RESUMED THEIR AGGRESSION AND THERE WILL BE A GENERAL OFFENSIVE OR REAGGRESSION ONLY WHEN THEY DEPLOY THREE OR FOUR INFANTRY DIVISIONS SUPPORTED BY ANTIAIRCRAFT ARTILLERY AND TANKS AS THEY DID PREVIOUSLY IN THEIR ASSAULTS ON QUANG TRI, KONTUM, AND BINH LONG.

15. AS I HAVE SAID, THESE PEOPLE DO NOT HAVE A CLEAR VIEW OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM OR DO NOT UNDERSTOOD THE WORDS "GENERAL OFFENSIVE" OR "REAGGRESSION." IN THEIR OPINION, THERE WAS A REAL GENERAL OFFENSIVE IN 1972, BECAUSE 50,000 TO 70,000-- OR FIVE TO SIX DIVISIONS--OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS OPENLY CROSSED THE DEMARCATION LINE--OR THE BEN HAI RIVER--WITH THEIR TANKS AND HEAVY GUNS. BUT, AT PRESENT, BECAUSE THERE IS NO CROSSING OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS OVER THE BEN HAI OR THACH HAN UNCLASSIFIED

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RIVER, THESE PEOPLE HAVE SAID THAT THERE IS NO GENERAL OFFENSIVE, AND THEY WONDER WHY THE RVN HAS SOUNDED THE ALARM. IN REALITY, WE HAVE NOT DONE SO, BECAUSE WE DO NOT NEED TO SHOUT FOR HELP SO THAT OTHER PEOPLE HELP US. IF THEY DO NOT WANT TO HELP US, THEY WILL PRETEND TO IGNORE OUR SHOUT FOR HELP. IN THIS CASE,

IF WE TRY TO SHOUT FOR HELP WITH ALL OUR STRENGTH, NOBODY WILL GIVE AN EAR TO OUR SHOUT. WE HAVE ONLY REVEALED A FACT AND WE ARE DOING WHAT WE MUST DO. WE HAVE ASKED NOBODY TO DO IT FOR US. WE MUST TELL THE TRUTH TO EVERYONE SO THAT THE COMMUNISTS CANNOT TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE NAIVETE OF THOSE PEOPLE. WE MUST TELL THE TRUTH SO THAT THEY ARE AWARE OF IT. WE DO NOT ASK THEM TO COME TO SOUTH VIETNAM TO DIE OR TO FIGHT IN OUR PLACE.

16. WHY IS IT THAT THE COMMUNISTA HAD TO OPENLY LAUNCH THEIR ATTACKS AT THAT TIME (IN 1972--FBIS)? BECAUSE, AS YOU REMEMBER, FROM 1969 THROUGH 1971, THE COMMUNISTS IN THE SOUTH WERE SERIOUSLY WEAKENED AS A RESULT OF THE ATTACKS WE LAUNCHED AGAINST THEM IN CAMBODIA AND THEN IN LAOS. IT MUST BE SAID THAT THE TERRIBLE BOMBING AGAINST NORTH VIETNAM AT THAT TIME SERIOUSLY DRAINED NORTH VIETNAM'S RESOURCES AND SERIOUSLY WEAKENED ITS POTENTIAL FOR AGGRESSION. THE COMMUNISTS WERE ALSO WEAKENED IN SOUTH VIETNAM, BECAUSE OF THE SERIOUS DEFEATS INFLICTED ON THEM BY OUR FORCES AND THOSE OF OUR ALLIES. WHY IS IT THAT THEY HAD TO SEND MANY DIVISIONS ACROSS THE BEN - HAI RIVER? BECAUSE NOT ONE OF THE COMMUNISTS DIVISIONS REMAINING IN THE AREAS SOUTH OF THE BEN HAI RIVER HAD HALF OF ITS EFFECTIVES ABLE TO FIGHT.

17 THE COMMUNISTS THEN REALIZED THAT THEY COULD NO LONGER ENDURE SUCH A SITUATION, BECAUSE THEY WOULD CERTAINLY LOSE THE GAME IN THE LONG RUN. THEREFORE, THEY FOUND IT NECESSARY TO PUT ALL THEIR FORCES AT STAKE IN THE 1972 GENERAL OFFENSIVE.

18. THEY ALSO KNEW THAT SUCH ATTACKS WOULD BE CONDEMNED BY THE WORLD PEOPLE AND THAT THE AMERICANS AND THE WORLD PEOPLE WOULD REACT VIGOROUSLY, BUT THEY HAD NO CHOICE.

19. SINDE 1954 THE COMMUNISTS HAVE ALWAYS DENIED THE PRESENCE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. BUT, FROM 400,000 TO 500,000 OF THEIR TROOPS ARE HERE NOW AND ABOUT HALF A MILLION OF THEIR TROOPS HAVE BEEN KILLED. BUT THEY STILL STRONGLY DENY UNCLASSIFIED

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THE FACT. WHY IS IT THAT THEY FINALLY HAD TO MASSIVELY SEND TENS OF THOUSANDS OF TROOPS INTO SOUTH VIETNAM IN SUCH A FOOLISH (IN 1972--FBIS) ACTION? THEY HAD CARRIED OUT ACTS OF ROBBERY BEFORE AND THEY DENIED THEM, BUT THEY COMMITTED ONLY PETTY THEFT AT THAT TIME AND THEY LET THEMSELVES BE CAUGHT RED HANDED. IT WAS REALLY AN UNWISE ACT* BUT THE COMMUNISTS HAD NO CHOICE. THE WORLD PEOPLE TERMED THEIR ATTACKS AN OPEN GENERAL OFFENSIVE.

20. DO THE COMMUNISTS NEED NOW TO RENEW SUCH AN ACT? I THINK THAT THEY NEED NOT DO SO. BECAUSE BY THE TIME THEY SIGNED THE PARIS AGREEMENT, THE COMMUNISTS ALREADY HAD IN THE SOUTH 300,000 TROOPS AND A LARGE QUANTITY OF MODERN WEAPONS, AND NOW, IGNORING

THE PARIS AGREEMENT, THEY HAVE INFILTRATED AN ADDITIONAL 150,000 TROOPS AND NUMEROUS TANKS AND ARTILLERY PIECES. YET, THEY HAVE FACED NO REACTION, AND IT MAY BE SAID NOW THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE READY FOR ANY ATTACKS AND THEIR FIGHTING POTENTIAL HAS BEEN RESTORED AND IS PROBABLY STRONGER THAN IN THE PERIOD PRIOR TO THE 1972 GENERAL OFFENSIVE. THEREFORE, THEY NEED NOT SEND TROOPS ACROSS THE BEN HAI RIVER. ALL THAT THEY NEED HAS BEEN BROUGHT HERE. NOW THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE LAUNCHED MASSIVE LARGE-SCALE ATTACKS IN ALL FOUR OF OUR MILITARY REGIONS, SOME PEOPLE STILL HOLD THAT THESE ARE NOT LARGE-SCALE ATTACKS AND THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT RENEWED THEIR AGGRESSION. THIS IS, IN MY OPINION, A STUBBORN AND ERROENOUS ARGUMENT OF THOSE WHO DO NOT WANT TO FACE THE TRUTH.

21. THESE PEOPLE WANT TO ACT AS POLICEMEN WHO STAND READY AT THE DOOR AND WAIT FOR THE ROBBER TO BREAK THROUGH AND THEN MAKE A REPORT ON THE BREAK IN. WHEN THE ROBBER WAS ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BEN HAI RIVER, THIS WAS PLAUSIBLE, BUT NOW, THE ROBBER IS ALREADY IN BED INSIDE THE ROOM AND NEEDS NOT AGAIN BREAK INTO THE HOUSE. THEREFORE, I HOLD THAT THEIR ARGUMENT IS INCORRECT. IN REALITY, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE RENEWED THEIR AGGRESSION AGAINST SOUTH VIETNAM WITH A STRONGER FORCE THAN IN 1972, AND THE WORLD PEOPLE HAVE FAILED TO PUNISH THE HANOI COMMUNISTS. THIS IMPOTENCE HAS FURTHER ENCOURAGED THE AGGRESSORS TO RENEW THEIR AGRESSION WITH A MUCH STRONGER INTENSITY.

22. THE COMMUNISTS HAVE SIGNED AN AGREEMENT ON LAOS, AND ALL NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS SHOULD HAVE BEEN WITHDRAWN FROM LAOS BY 4 JUNE. THEY HAVE CREATED A COALITION GOVERNMENT AND GAINED UNCLASSIFIED

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LEADERSHIP IN LAOS, BUT THEY HAVE CONTINUED TO LOUDLY DEMAND THE WITHDRAWAL OF US AND THAI TROOPS. THE LAST US TROOP HAS NOW LEFT LAOS, BUT THE COMMUNISTS STILL CONTINUE TO DEMAND THE WITHDRAWAL OF THAI TROOPS, AIR AMERICA AND EVERYTHING. MEANWHILE, THE 50,000 TO 60,000 NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN LAOS CONTINUE TO REMAIN THERE; AND NO ONE HAS DARED TO DEMAND THEIR WITHDRAWAL, EXCEPT FOR MAKING SOME FEEBLE, INEFFECTIVE REMARKS. THEN, HOW CAN WE FRIGHTEN THESE CRAFTY AND DOUBLEDEALING COMMUNIST AGGRESSOR BANDITS, WHO HAVE A RECORD GOING BACK TO 1945, BY TALING SOFT WITH THEM IN A BESEECHING AND FRIGHTENED MANNER? THE MORE WE TALK WITH THEM, THE MORE WE WILL GIVE THEM STRENGTH AND ENCOURAGEMENT.

23. REGARDING CAMBODIA, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE, JUST AS WE HAVE, TALKED ABOUT TROOP WITHDRAWAL UPON SIGNING THE AGREEMENT. BUT AT THE PRESENT TIME, THEY ARE LAUNCHING EVEN MORE VIOLENT ATTACKS THAN THOSE PRIOR TO THE ADVENT OF THE AGREEMENT. NO ONE HAS EVER SEEN ANY REACTION TO THIS; AND THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NEVER BUDGED AN INCH OR DISPLAYED THE SLIGHTEST SIGN OF FEAR AT ANY

REACTION.

24. IN THE RVN, UPON SIGNING THE AGREEMENT, WE WERE UNEQUIVOCALLY PROMISED THAT THE COMMUNISTS WOULD BE KEPT FROM INFILTRATING INTO THE SOUTH, AND THAT IF THEY INFILTRATED, THEY WOULD MEET WITH A STRONG REACTION. HOWEVER, ALL THE PROMISES MADE BY OUR ALLY, AS WELL AS THOSE MADE BY THE ALLIES OF THE COMMUNISTS TO RESTRAIN THEIR SMALL BROTHER, HAVE BEEN FORGOTTEN; AND NONE OF THESE PROMISES HAVE BEEN REALIZED. IN SHORT, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE BEEN RECEIVING EVER STRONGER ENCOURAGEMENT, WHEREAS OUR SIDE HAS BEEN CONFRONTING EVER-INCREASING DIFFICULTIES.

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FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5643

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25. THERE ARE STILL SOME FOOLISH AND INNOCENT PEOPLE WHO HAVE NEVER LIVED WITH OR KNOWN THE COMMUNISTS AND WHO -- I BEG YOUR PARDON -- HAVE YET TO RECOGNIZE THE TRUE HEARTS OF THE COMMUNISTS OR TO GO THROUGH THE LIFE-AND-DEATH EXPERIENCE OF SUFFERING THAT WE HAVE ENDURED HERE. THESE PEOPLE OFTEN SAY THAT NORTH VIETNAM HAS NOW ADOPTED A PEACEFUL POLICY AND WILL NO LONGER FOLLOW THE PATH OF AGGRESSION. IT IS QUITE FOOLISH TO STUDY AND BELIEVE IN THE WORDS READ FROM THE RESOLUTIONS ISSUED BY THE COMMUNISTS.

26. WE MUST DISCOVER THE COMMUNISTS' DESIGNS IN THE RESOLUTIONS, WHICH THEY HAVE ISSUED TO DECEIVE WORLD OPINION INTO

BELIEVING THAT THEY ARE DEVOTING ALL EFFORTS TO CONSOLIDATING PEACE IN THE SOUTH AND BUILDING THE NORTH'S ECONOMY

AND ARE NOT SEEKING TO TAKE OVER THE SOUTH. IN THIS WAY, WE WILL NOT BE SO NAIVE AS TO BELIEVE THEIR PUBLIC DECLARATIONS AT BA DINH THAT THEY WILL NO LONGER INVADE THE SOUTH. MEANWHILE, WE MUST NOT FORGET OTHER RESOLUTIONS THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE ADOPTED IN THEIR CLOSED-DOOR MEETINGS. ACCORDING TO ONE OF THESE RESOLUTIONS, THE COMMUNIST LEADERS STATED THAT THEY WOULD RESOLUTELY COMPLETE THE REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH IN ORDER TO PROCEED TOWARD NATIONAL REUNIFICATION AND SOCIALISM. WHAT DOES THIS STATEMENT IMPLY? IT IMPLIES THAT THE COMMUNISTS OPENLY HARBOR THE DESIGN OF ANNEXING THE SOUTH. BY WHAT MEANS WILL THEY ANNEX THE SOUTH? THIS

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IS THE MEANS: BY REFUSING TO WITHDRAW 300,000 NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS FROM THE SOUTH WHILE INTRODUCING 150,000 MORE TROOPS AND TANKS AND HEAVY GUNS INTO THIS COUNTRY ANDV LAUNCHING STRONG ATTACKS FROM QUANG TRI TO CA MAU. I THINK THAT NO ONE IS SO STUPID THAT HE CANNOT REALIZE THIS FACT.

27. THERE IS ANOTHER RESOLUTION, THE 12TH RESOLUTION, WHICH THE COMMUNISTS THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH HAVE STUDIED. IN THIS RESOLUTION, THEY ADVOCATE VIOLENCE IN THE MILITARY, CULTURAL, POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FIELDS TO SOLVE THE SOUTH VIETNAM PROBLEM.

28. THE COMMUNISTS HAVE USED MILITARY VIOLENCE, OR FORCE OF ARMS, BY LAUNCHING VIOLENT ATTACKS. WHAT DOES CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC VIOLENCE MEAN? EVEN THE SHELLINGS OF THE CAI LAY AND SONG PHU SCHOOLS CONSISTS OF SABOTAGING OUR ECONOMY. (NOTE: ONE LINE OF TRANSMISSION GARBLED.) ESTABLISHMENTS AND OUR FACTORIES AND WORKSITES AND WRECKING OUR BRIDGES IN ORDER TO OBSTRUCT OUR COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES. LARGE-SCALE ECONOMIC VIOLENCE CONSISTS OF SABOTAGING OUR WORKSITES AND FACTORIES, AND SMALL-SCALE ECONOMIC VIOLENCE IS EVEN DIRECTED AGAINST SMALL MERCHANTS. ECONOMIC VIOLENCE ALSO CONSISTS OF PLANTING MINES IN THE RICEFIELDS TO KILL THE PEASANTS, TO DISCOURAGE THEM FROM CULTIVATING CROPS AND THEREBY UNDER MINE OUR ECONOMY.

29. SOCIAL VIOLENCE CONSISTS OF INCITING DEMONSTRATIONS, KILLINGS AND STRIKES AIMED AT EXHAUSTING OUR ECONOMY, UNLEASHING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND CREATING PROBLEMS THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST SOLVE.

30. THE COMMUNISTS ARE STRUGGLING IN MANY FORMS, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND MILITARY, WITH VIOLENCE BEING THE PRICIPAL FORM OF THEIR STRUGGLE. THEY ARE STRUGGLING VIOLENTLY, AND NOT PEACEFULLY, BECAUSE THEY ARE FULLY AWARE THAT BY STRUGGLING PEACEFULLY THEY WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO OVERTHROW OUR REGIME, WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO UNDERMINE THE STABILITY OF THE SOUTH

AND WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO RAPIDLY TAKE OVER THE SOUTH. THEREFORE, THEY ADVOCATE USING VIOLENCE TO ACHIEVE THEIR GOAL OF TAKING OVER THE SOUTH.

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31. CERTAIN PEOPLE IN THE WORLD HAVE NOT READ, OR DARED NOT READ, THE COMMUNIST RESOLUTION. SOME OTHERS MIGHT HAVE READ IT, BUT REFLECT THE INTENTIONS OF THE COMMUNISTS AND THAT THE SPEECHES DELIVERED BY TRUONG CHINH AND PHAM VAN DONG IN THE BA DINH CONFERENCE HALL DID NOT REVEAL ANY AGGRESSIVE INTENTIONS. NORTH VIETNAM HAS DENIED THE FACT THAT IT HAS INTRODUCED TROOPS INTO AND IS WAGING AGGRESSION IN THE SOUTH. THIS DENIAL IS A SINISTER SCHEME THAT CAN ONLY DECEIVE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION OR THOSE WHO SHIRK RESPONSIBILITY. WE, AS THE INSIDERS WITH A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY, CANNOT BE DECEIVED BY THIS SCHEME.

32. NORTH VIETNAM MAY BE LIKENED TO A BANDIT WHO STABBED SOMEONE IN THE STOMACH AND SUBSEQUENTLY RETURNED HOME, CLAIMING HE HAS STOPPED KILLING PEOPLE AND IS INTENT ON BECOMING A MONK. WE CANNOT CALL HIM A MONK, BECAUSE HE HAS KILLED PEOPLE OUTSIDE HIS HOME. WE CANNOT CALL NORTH VIETNAM A MONK WHEN IT CONTINUES TO INFILTRATE THE SOUTH AND COMMITS MURDEROUS ACTS IN THE SOUTH. SOME PEOPLE HAVE PRETENDED TO BE UNAWARE OF THESE ACTS. NORTH VIETNAM HAS RESORTED TO THE BANDIT-BECOMING-A-MONK TRICK TO DECEIVE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AND TO DECEIVE US PUBLIC OPINION IN ORDER TO OBTAIN US AID. WHILE DENYING ITS AGGRESSION, NORTH VIETNAM HAS MAINTAINED 400,000 OR 500,000 TROOPS IN THE SOUTH AND HAS REGULARLY CONTINUED ITS INFILTRATION WITHOUT BEING CHECKED. THIS IS WHY IT CALLS ITSELF A MONK.

33. I DON'T BLAME THE COMMUNISTS FOR DOING THIS. I ONLY BLAME THOSE STUPID PEOPLE WHO FAIL TO SEE THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE DOING THIS OR WHO, BECAUSE OF THEIR NAIVETE OR THEIR EVESION OF RESPONSIBILITY, DO NOT RECONIZE THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE DOING THIS OR WHO, BECAUSE OF THEIR NAIVETE OR THEIR EVASION OF RESPONSIBILITY, DO NOT RECOGNIZE THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE DOING THIS. AS FAR AS THE COMMUNISTS ARE CONCERNED, BANDITRY AND AGGRESSION REPRESENT THEIR OCCUPATIONS, WHICH THEY MUST PRACTICE SERIOUSLY.

34. THEREFORE, WE VIETNAMESE, IN OUR PRESENT NATIONAL SITUATION, MUST CLEARLY REALIZE THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE RENEWED THEIR AGGRESSION IN THE SOUTH, THAT THEY ADVOCATE TAKING OVER THE SOUTH BY FORCE, AND THAT THEIR ULTIMATE GOAL IS TO
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TAKE OVER THE SOUTH BY EVERY MEANS AND THROUGH VIOLENCE
IN ALL FORMS. THIS AN UNDENIABLE TRUTH.

35. THE PROBLEM RAISED CONCERNS OURSELVES AND OUR ALLIES.
THE PROBLEM IS WHETHER OUR ALLIES WILL ASSIST US IN REAC-
TING TO COMMUNIST AGGRESSION, WHETHER OUR ALLIES WILL REACT
AS PROMISED, AND WHETHER WE OURSELVES WILL REACT IN SELF-
DENSE. LET US NOT RAISE THE PROBLEM OR POSE THE QUESTION
OF WHETHER OR NOT THE COMMUNIST AGGRESSION IS REAL. IT IS
USELESS TO POSE SUCH A QUESTION, BECAUSE IT IS CRYSTAL
CLEAR THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE RENEWED THEIR AGGRESSION.

36. LET ME RECALL THE BACKGROUND AGAINST WHICH THE PARIS
AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED. WHY HAVE THE COMMUNISTS NOT IMPLEMENTED
THIS AGREEMENT? WHY HAVE THEY STRICTLY, VERY STRICTLY, IMPE-
MENTED THE PARIS AGREEMENT IN LAOS? BECAUSE IT IS IN THEIR
BEST INTERESTS TO STRICTLY AND SCRUPULOUSLY IMPLEMENT THE
PARIS AGREEMENT IN LAOS. THROUGH THE 1954 AGREEMENTS,
THE FRENCH COLONIALISTS SOLD OUT HALF OF VIETNAM TO THE
COMMUNISTS. THAT WAS WHY THE COMMUNISTS, WITH SMILES ON THEIR
FACES AND WITH OPEN ARMS, STRICTLY AND SCRUPULOUSLY IMPE-
MENTED THESE AGREEMENTS. ANOTHER AGREEMENT IN LAOS HAS BEEN
CONCLUDED. I DON'T WANT TO TOUCH ON A FRIENDLY NATION, I
DON'T WANT TO MEDDLE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS. HOWEVER, IF
SUCH AN AGREEMENT WERE CONCLUDED FOR VIETNAM, I AS A
VIETNAMESE WOULD VISUALIZE THE INEVITABLE LOSS OF THE COUNTRY.

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37. IN 1962, THE COMMUNISTS AND THE COLONIALISTS CONCLUDED ANOTHER AGREEMENT ON LAOS. AS A RESULT, A THREE-SEGMENT, OR TRIPARTITE, AND LEFTIST NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT WAS FORMED. THE COMMUNISTS TRIED BY EVERY MEANS TO CONTROL THE NEUTRALIST SEGMENT--OR THE THIRD SEGMENT OR THIRD FORCE--SO THAT THEY COULD USE THE COMMUNIST PATHET LAO AND THE NEUTRALISTS TO KNOCK OUT THE NATIONALISTS. THE COMMUNISTS IN LAOS BELIEVED THAT WITH SUCH AN AGREEMENT AND WITH NORTH VIETNAM'S SUPPORT, THEY COULD TAKE OVER LAOS. THEY BELIEVED THAT WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS LEFT BEHIND IN LAOS, WHO WERE DISGUISED AS LAOTIANS, THEY COULD TAKE OVER LAOS AND DRIVE THE AMERICANS AND FRENCH OUT.

38. NEVERTHELESS, AFTER THEIR ATTEMPT FAILED, THEY RESUMED THE FIGHTING. AFTER JOINING THE TRIPARTITE GOVERNMENT IN VIENTIANE FOR SOME TIME, THEY RETURNED TO THE JUNGLE, RESUMED THE FIGHTING, AND CALLED ON NORTH VIETNAM TO PROVIDE THEM WITH COMBAT SUPPORT. THEY WERE FIGHTING TO DEMAND THE FORMATION OF A COALITION GOVERNMENT COMPOSED OF TWO EQUAL SEGMENTS.

39. RECENTLY, THE COMMUNISTS IN LAOS GAINED THE UPPER HAND, PATHET LAO LEADER SOUPHANOUVONG IS PRESIDING OVER THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP COUNCIL, WHEREAS PRIME MINISTER SOUVANNA PHOUMA IS PRESIDING OVER AN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, WHICH IS LOWER. AS DIRECTED BY NATIONAL LEADERSHIP COUNCIL, THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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IS TAKING STEPS TO DRIVE OUT THE THAI'S AND THE AMERICANS. MEANWHILE, THE 50,000 OR 60,000 MORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS REMAIN IN PLACE, WITHOUT ANYONE DARING TO SPEAK OF THEIR PRESENCE. NEITHER THE COMMUNISTS IN LAOS NOR ANYONE ELSE DARE SAY OR DO ANYTHING ABOUT THEIR PRESENCE. ONLY PERFUNCTORY STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE AND CONCERN OR DOUBTS HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED, BUT NOTHING HAS BEEN DONE ABOUT IT. THE COMMUNISTS ARE NOT AFRAID OF OTHER PEOPLE'S DOUBTS AND CONCERN. THEY ARE NOT GHOSTS THAT ARE AFRAID OF TALISMANS; THEY ARE TIGERS THAT ARE AFRAID OF GUNFIRE.

40. THEREFORE, THE COMMUNISTS IN LAOS HAVE NOW REALIZED THAT THEIR TRICKS HAVE PAID OFF. WITH THE EXISTING COALITION SYSTEM FROM HIGHER TO LOWER LEVELS, IF THE ANTI-COMMUNIST, NATIONALIST SIDE REACTS TO THEIR MANEUVERS, THEY WILL AGAIN RETURN TO THE JUNGLE AND RESUME THE FIGHTING. MOREOVER, THEY ARE AWARE THAT, CONSIDERING THE PRESENT BALANCE OF FORCES, THEY ARE STRONGER THAN THE NATIONALIST SIDE. THE AMERICANS AND EVERYONE ELSE HAVE LEFT. THAT IS WHY THE COMMUNISTS

BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE STRONG AND CAPABLE OF TAKING OVER LAOS. THAT IS WHY THEY ARE IMPLEMENTING THE AGREEMENT VERY STRICTLY. THEY ARE PERFORMING THE OLD FARCE THAT THEY PERFORMED IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE 1962 AGREEMENT. WITH THE LAST U.S. SERVICEMEN PULLING OUT, THE 50,000 OR 60,000 NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS REMAIN IN PLACE. IT'S THE SAME FARCE. IF THEY WIN, THEY WILL BE THE LORD; IF THEY FAIL, THEY WILL RETURN TO THE JUNGLE AND WILL BE THE REBELS.

41. NOW THAT A COALITION GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN FORMED, IT IS NOT CERTAIN THAT THE NATIONALISTS WILL BE ABLE TO CONTROL THE ZONE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE PATHET LAO, WHOSE ADMINISTRATION REMAINS IN PHONG SALY AND SAM NEUA. I AM CONVINCED THAT THE COMMUNISTS WILL KEEP THE PATHET LAO TROOPS IN THE ZONE UNDER THEIR CONTROL AND WILL KEEP THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS TO SUPPORT THEM. MEANWHILE, PATHET LAO TROOPS, IF POSSIBLE, WILL MOVE TO THE CITIES AND INFILTRATE THE RANKS OF THE NATIONALIST TROOPS. THUS, WHILE KEEPING THEIR TROOPS IN THE JUNGLE AND THEIR TERRITORY INTACT, THE PATHET LAO HAVE SENT THEIR POLICE AND MILITARY FORCES TO INFILTRATE THE CAPITAL OF LAOS. THE OUTLOOK IS THAT ANOTHER COMMUNIST PARTY AND ANOTHER COALITION GOVERNMENT WILL EMERGE. THIS WILL BE TRAGIC. AS I UNCLASSIFIED

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SAID EARLIER, I DON'T WANT TO MEDDLE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF LAOS, BUT IF SUCH AN AGREEMENT WERE CONCLUDED FOR VIETNAM, I, AS A RESPONSIBLE VIETNAMESE. WOULD NEVER ACCEPT IT. IF I AM A CONSCIENTIOUS VIETNAMESE CITIZEN, EVEN IF I AM NOT ASSUMING ANY NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, I WILL ALSO HOLD THAT THE PATH CHARTED IN SUCH AN AGREEMENT WILL LEAD TO THE LOSS OF THE COUNTRY.

42. LET US COMPARE THE TEXT OF THE PRESENT AGREEMENT ON LAOS WITH THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT THAT WAS REACHED WITH HANOI ON 26 OCTOBER 1972. HAD WE FAILED TO REVEAL THE 26 OCTOBER 1972 AGREEMENT AT THE RIGHT TIME, ITS FINAL FORM WOULD HAVE BEEN IDENTICAL TO THAT OF THE PRESENT AGREEMENT ON LAOS--IN TERMS OF ITS TEXT, CONTENTS AND SPIRIT AND THE SOLUTIONS PRESCRIBED THEREIN--AND OUR COUNTRY WOULD HAVE BEEN LOST. IF THE 26 OCTOBER 1972 AGREEMENT, WHICH I REVEALED TO THE COMPATRIOTS OVE THE RADIO AND TELEVISION NETWORK ON THE EVENING OF 26 OCTOBER 1972, HAD BEEN ACCEPTED, THE COMMUNISTS, WITH SMILES ON THEIR FACES AND WITH OPEN ARMS, WOULD HAVE VERY STRICTLY IMPLEMENTED IT BECAUSE IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A VICTORY FOR THEM AND WOULD HAVE LED US TO DEATH. HAD THAT AGREEMENT BEEN ACCEPTED, WE WOULD HAVE DIED LONG AGO; I WOULD SAY WITHIN 6 MONTHS, AND NOT ONE YEAR. ABOUT ONE YEAR AND A HALF HAVE ELAPSED SINCE THEN. AT THAT TIME, WE PROTESTED AND REFUSED TO SIGN THAT AGREEMENT. IF IT WOULD HAVE BEEN SIGNED, IT WOULD HAVE LED TO THE LOSS OF OUR COUNTRY AND WOULD HAVE RESULTED IN THE

FORMATION OF A THREE-SEGMENT GOVERNMENT, FROM HIGHER TO LOWER LEVELS. IF SUCH A GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE BEEN SET UP, AS I VISUALIZE IT, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN PRESIDED OVE BY A CERTAIN PUPPET, WITH THE SAIGON SEGMENT ON HIS RIGHT AND THE LIBERATION FRONT SEGMENT ON HIS LEFT. THE COMMITTEES AND THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP COUNCIL PRESCRIBED IN THAT AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE BEEN SET UP AND WOULD HAVE HANDED DOWN DECISIONS TO BE CARRIED OUT BY THE GOVERNMENT, FROM THE CENTRAL LEVEL TO THE VILLAGE AND HAMLET LEVELS. THIS WAS THE FIRST POINT CONTAINED IN THE TEXT OF THE 26 OCTOBER 1972 AGREEMENT.

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43. THE SECOND POINT TALKED ABOUT AUTHORIZING THE SO-CALLED FRONT TO HAVE A SEPARATE COUNTRY SO THAT THERE WOULD BE FOUR OR FIVE COUNTRIES IN INDOCHINA. THE THIRD POINT DID NOT MENTION THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS' WITHDRAWAL. ONLY THIS POINT CAN CAUSE US TO LOSE OUR COUNTRY. FOR THIS REASON, WE OPPOSED AND SUCCEEDED IN ELIMINATING THESE THREE POINTS IN THE THREE MONTHS BEFORE WE CONCLUDED THE AGREEMENT. WHY DID THE COMMUNISTS AGREE TO SIGN THIS AGREEMENT? AS I HAVE SAID, THIS WAS AN UNAVOIDABLE THING. THEY WERE FORCED TO SIGN IT. THEY SIGNED IT WITH A FORCED SMILE AND NOT WITH JOY, BECAUSE IT WAS NOT THE AGREEMENT THEY DESIRED. THE VIENTIANE AGREEMENT IS THE TYPE OF AGREEMENT THEY DESIRE. THE AGREEMENT OF 27 JANUARY 1973 WAS NOT THE AGREEMENT THEY DESIRED. HOWEVER, THE COMMUNISTS WERE FORCED BY THE UNITED STATES TO SIGN IT. THE SIGNING WAS NECESSARY.

44. ACCORDING TO THE SCHEDULE, THE AGREEMENT WAS TO BE SIGNED ON 30 OCTOBER; EVERYONE HAD BEEN READY AND WAITING. PEOPLE HAD TALKED ABOUT AN HEROIC WITHDRAWAL AND A PEACE IN HONOR. THE AGREEMENT HAD BEEN READY. EVERYTHING HAD BEEN READY. SUDDENLY, WE REACTED BECAUSE THE AGREEMENT RAN COUNTER TO OUR BASIC NATIONAL INTERESTS. BUT THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT WAS NECESSARY BECAUSE, AT THAT TIME, THE UNITED STATES NEEDED AN AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE VIETNAM WAR. THE PARIS AGREEMENT WAS NOT PERFECT, BUT WAS NECESSARY TO SATISFY U.S. PUBLIC OPINION AND THE POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS IN THE UNCLASSIFIED

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UNITED STATES. SINCE THE MATTER WAS LIKE THIS, THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT WAS VERY NECESSARY AND INEVITABLE. FOR THIS REASONS, AT THAT TIME, COMMUNIST NORTH VIETNAM SAID TO THE UNITES STATES (AND NOT TO US, BECAUSE WE KNEW NOTHING ABOUT THEIR AFFAIR): YOU MUST SIGN THE AGREEMENT ON 26 OCTOBER AS YOU HAVE PROMISED. YOU MUST SIGN IT. WE DO NOT CARE ABOUT ANY PROTEST OF THE RVN. YOU MUST SIGN IT WITH US BECAUSE YOU YAVE PROMISED TO SIGN IT AT NOON ON 27-28 OCTOBER. AT THAT TIME, I SAW THAT BECAUSE WE OPPOSED THE SIGNING AND BECAUSE OF THE U.S. NEED TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT, THE UNITES STATES WOULD HAVE TO USE B-52 AIRCRAFT TO BOMB NORTH VIETNAM IN ORDER TO FORCE THE COMMUNISTS TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT.

45. BECAUSE NORTH VIETNAM AND HANOI WERE BOMBED BY B-52 AIRCRAFT, THE COMMUNISTS AGREED TO SIGN. IF THEY HAD REFUSED TO SIGN, NORTH VIETNAM WOULD HAVE BEEN COMPLETELY DESTROYED. THIS WAS THE SITUATION IN WHICH NORTH VIETNAM SIGNED THE PARIS AGREEMENT.

46. AS I HAVE EXPLAINED, FIRST, NORTH VIETNAM IS NOT SATISFIED WITH THE SIGNED AGREEMENT BECAUSE IT DOES NOT HELP THE COMMUNISTS TAKE OVER SOUTH VIETNAM AS EASILY AS IN THE CASE WITH THE VIENTIANE AGREEMENT. SECONDLY, NORTH VIETNAM IS NOT SATISFIED WITH THE FACT THAT THE RVN HAD REJECTED THE POINTS THAT WERE COMPLETELY FAVORABLE FOR THE COMMUNISTS. WE HAD REJECTED THE ALREADY APPROVED POINTS IN ORDER TO PROTECT OUR LEGITIMATE INTERESTS. THIS HAS CAUSED NORTH VIETNAM TO BE ANGRY AND TO SEEK EVERY MEANS TO SABOTAGE THE AGREEMENT. NORTH VIETNAM HAS SOUGHT EVERY MEANS TO CANCEL THE AGREEMENT OF 27 JANUARY 1973 WITH A VIEW TO CREATING A NEW AGREEMENT WHICH WILL PLACE IT IN A FAVORABLE POSITION FROM WHICH TO TAKE OVER SOUTH VIETNAM.

47. WHAT ARE THE COMMUNISTS INTENT ON ACHIEVING ULTIMATELY? THEY ARE INTENT ON ACHIEVING WHAT THEY COULD HAVE ACHIEVED ON THE BASIS OF THE 26 OCTOBER 1972 TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT, THAT IS, IMPOSING A COALITION GOVERNMENT ON THE SOUTH. ONLY WHEN A COALITION GOVERNMENT IS SET UP FROM HIGHER TO

LOWER LEVELS CAN THEY HOPEFULLY WIN IN GENERAL ELECTIONS.
WITHOUT A COALITION GOVERNMENT, THEY WOULD IN NO WAY BE ABLE
TO WIN IN GENERAL ELECTIONS.
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48. IF GENERAL ELECTIONS ARE HELD IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF THE 27 JANUARY 1973 AGREEMENT, THE COMMUNISTS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO WIN, AS I HAVE SAID ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, EVEN IF THE COMMUNISTS OBTAIN 5, 15, 35, OR EVEN 50 PER CENT OF THE VOTES IN GENERAL ELECTIONS, THEY WOULD NOT BE SURE OF VICTORY. THEY ARE INTENT ON WINNING A DECISIVE VICTORY, WHICH CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH PREARRANGEMENTS--COALITION ARMED FORCES, A COALITION POLICE FORCE, A COALITION ADMINISTRATION, AND A COMMUNIST PARTY CONTROLLING AND SABOTAGING OUR SOCIETY. ONLY WHEN GENERAL ELECTIONS ARE HELD UNDER THESE CONDITIONS CAN THE COMMUNISTS WIN A DECISIVE VICTORY.

49. THUS, THE PRESENT AGREEMENT ON LAOS IS A TRAP SPRUNG BY THE COMMUNISTS WITH A COALITION GOVERNMENT BEING SET UP FROM HIGHER TO LOWER LEVELS. THIS GOVERNMENT WOULD FUNCTION FOR A LONG TIME.

50. THE COMMUNISTS CAN ONLY WIN IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IF THEY HAVE ENOUGH TIME. THEREFORE, THEY USUALLY WAIT FOR TWO OR MORE YEARS BEFORE PARTICIPATING IN GENERAL ELECTIONS WHEN CERTAIN OF VICTORY. IN LAOS, AFTER WINNING THE GENERAL ELECTIONS, THEY WILL TELL THE WORLD THAT, CONTRARY TO WHAT HAS BEEN SAID, ALL THE LAO PEOPLE PREFER COMMUNISM. IN VIETNAM, THE COMMUNISTS WILL ALSO RESORT TO THIS SCHEME. THEY MUST HAVE A COALITION GOVERNMENT THAT SERVES AS A BASIS FOR THEM TO OFFICIALLY SABOTAGE THE SOUTHERN SOCIETY FROM WITHIN AND TO CREATE POLITICAL CHAOS. THEN, IF NECESSARY, THEY WILL RESORT TO MILITARY MEANS. IF MILITARY MEASURES ARE NOT NECESSARY, THEY WILL SIMPLY BOAST TO THE WORLD: LOOK HERE, THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE HAVE FOR DECADES WANTED COMMUNISM, BUT NO ONE HAS BELIEVED WHAT WE HAVE REPEATEDLY SAID. NOW YOU SEE, IT WAS USELESS FOR THE AMERICANS TO COME HERE TO FIGHT. WE ARE HAPPY NOW.

51. EVERYONE MUST CONTINUALLY BE CONTENT IN THE EYES OF THE COMMUNISTS. A COMMUNIST MUST SMILE WITH THE COMMUNISTS EVEN THOUGH HE WANTS TO CRY AND FEELS DESOLATION IN HIS HEART. THE COMMUNISTS' SCHEME IS TO REPEAT WHAT THEY HAVE ACHIEVED IN LAOS BY RETURNING TO THE AGREEMENT WHICH THEY DREW UP WITH
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THE UNITED STATES ON 26 OCTOBER 1972. HOWEVER, SINCE THE RVN REFUSES TO ACCEPT THIS FORMULA--WE MUST REFUSE OR ELSE WE WILL DIE; AND WE WOULD RATHER FIGHT AND LOSE THE BATTLE THAN COMMIT SUICIDE--THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO RESORT TO VIOLENCE TO ADVANCE TOWARD A COALITION GOVERNMENT. THIS EXPLAINS THE COMMUNISTS' ACTIONS. THUS WE CAN SEE THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE NOW RESUMING A GENERAL MILITARY OFFENSIVE TO RENEW THEIR AGGRESSION AGAINST THE SOUTH. THEY ARE SEEKING TO CONTROL THE PEOPLE, GRAB LAND, DESTROY THE ARVN, SABOTAGE THE ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND REGIME IN THE SOUTH, AND UNDERMINE OUR ACTIVITIES IN ALL FIELDS, IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE ANOTHER AGREEMENT.

52. MOREOVER, A SECOND AGREEMENT WOULD PROVIDE THE COMMUNISTS WITH CONDITIONS FOR TAKING OVER THE SOUTH AS EASILY AS THEY HAVE DONE IN LAOS. THIS IS THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM; AND WHEN WE SEE THROUGH IT, WE HAVE UNDERSTOOD THE PROBLEM. WE MUST POSE QUESTIONS AND THEN ANSWER THEM FOR THE SAKE OF OUR SURVIVAL. WE MUST RETALIATE AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS AND METE OUT MILITARY PUNISHMENT TO THEM UNLESS WE WOULD ACCEPT DEATH. AT PRESENT, WHILE BALLYHOOING ABOUT NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, THE COMMUNISTS CONTINUE TO CARRY OUT ABDUCTIONS AND ASSASSINATIONS, AS WELL AS TO PLANT MINES AND GRENADES TO KILL EVEN PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE WAR. WITH OUR RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENSE, CAN WE LET THE COMMUNISTS RULE THE ROOST IN SUCH A MANNER?

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53. IN THE PRESENT SITUATION, THE COMMUNISTS ARE PLAYING A HALF-WAR, HALF PEACE TRICK. IF WE STRIKE OUT AT THEM WITH ONE HAND, HTEY WILL DODGE TOWARD OUR PASSIVE HAND AND CONTINUE TO ADVANCE. THIS VERY HALF-WAR, HALF-PEACE SITUATION IS EVEN MORE DANGEROUS THAN A WAR SITUATION. THEREFORE, OUT ACTION MUST BE AIMED AT CHECKING THE COMMUNISTS' ARMED ACTION AND AT PREVENTING THEM FROM ACHIEVING A SUCCESS WITH THEIR ARMED AGGRESSION. LET US ASK OURSELVES WHETHER WE WANT TO HAVE ANOTHER AGREEMENT* NO, WE SIMPLY WANT THE PARIS AGREEMENT TO BE RESPECTED--ITS LETTER, SPIRIT AND PROVISION--AND GENERAL ELECTIONS TO BE QUICKLY ORGANIZED.

54. WE DEEM THAT ONCE AN AGREEMENT HAS BEEN SIGNED, IT MUST BE RESPECTED. THEREFORE, THIS WAS WHY I PROTESTED AGAINST THE 26 OCTOBER DOCUMENT. I SAID THAT SIGNING AN AGREEMENT WAS A SERIOUS ACTION AND THAT IF THIS AGREEMENT WAS DISADVANTAGEOUS FOR US, IT WOULD BE BEST THAT I NOT SIGN IT, FOR I AM NOT A COMMUNIST WHO CAN ENGAGE IN DOUBLE-DEALING. THUS, I REFUSED TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT WHICH, IF RESPECTED, WOULD HAVE RESULTED IN THE LOSS OF OUR COUNTRY. I THEM DECLARED THAT DESPITE MY LOVE FOR PEACE, I WOULD SIGN THAT AGREEMENT ONLY AFTER IT WAS MODIFIED.

55. THIS MODIFIED AGREEMENT IS, RELATIVELY SPEAKING, A CRIPPLED AGREEMENT. THIS IS BECAUSE, ON THE BASIS OF THIS AGREEMENT, SOME PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED; BUT AS CONCERNS MANY UNCLASSIFIED

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OTHER PROBLEMS IT IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO SOLVE THEM WITH THE COMMUNISTS. FOR EXAMPLE, CONSIDER THE PROBLEM CONCERNING THE WITHDRAWAL OF COMMUNIST TROOPS. WE MAINTAIN THAT NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE HELD WITH NORTH VIETNAM TO SETTLE THIS PROBLEM; AND WE HAVE ALSO SET FORTH THE CONDITION THAT TO ORGANIZE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN THE SOUTH SO THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE CAN EXERCISE THEIR NATIONAL RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, THERE MUST BE NO FOREIGN TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND BOTH U.S. AND NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS MUST WITHDRAW--SO THAT THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE CAN FREELY CHOOSE AND VOTE WITHOUT ANY THREAT OR PRESSURE IMPOSED ON THEM THROUGH THE USE OF DAGGERS AND GRENADES. IN THIS WAY, WE HAVE CORRECTLY LAID THE FOUNDATION FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THIS PROBLEM.

56. TO ENABLE THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE TO IMPLEMENT THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION--INCLUDING BOTH PEOPLE IN THE NATIONAL AND COMMUNIST RANKS--ALL FOREIGNERS, THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER ALLIES AND THE NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS, MUST GET OUT OF SOUTH VIETNAM. ONLY THEN CAN ELECTIONS BE ORGANIZED. I THINK THAT THIS IS A DIFFICULT PROBLEM BECAUSE IT IS NOT EASY TO EXPEL THE COMMUNISTS MERELY WITH THE TERMS OF AN

AGREEMENT, NOW THAT THEY HAVE SETTLED IN OUR HOUSE. WE UNLEASHED BOMBS ON THEIR HEADS AND ATTACKED THEM, YET, THEY STILL REFUSED TO GET OUT. THEY WERE DETERMINED TO RUSH FORWARD AND THEN DIED LIKE MAYFLIES UNTIL NONE OF THEM SURVIVED.

57. FOR US, THE ALREADY CRIPPLED PARIS AGREEMENT HAS BECOME EVEN MORE CRIPPLED, BUT AS A SIGNATORY TO THE AGREEMENT, WE WANT TO KEEP OUR FAITH VIS A VIS THE WORLD PEOPLES, INCLUDING THE COMMUNISTS. WE DESIRE THE CORRECT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT. WE CHALLENGE THE COMMUNISTS TO AN ELECTION AND WE ARE READY TO ACCEPT ITS CONSEQUENCES, AND THE COMMUNISTS MUST ALSO BE READY FOR THAT. THESE ARE THE "RULES OF THE GAME", BUT THE PLAYERS MUST PLAY FAIR. PEACEFUL MEANS WILL BE USED IN THIS CHALLENGE--THAT IS, AN ELECTION IS TO BE ORGANIZED AND CONDUCTED HONESTLY UNDER INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION.

58. I WANT TO STREAS THAT WE SHOULD NOT LET OTHER PEOPLE THINK THAT THE RVN GOVERNMENT WISHES TO REPLACE THE PARIS AGREEMENT WITH ANOTHER AGREEMENT. NO, WE DO NOT SEEK THAT. WE HAVE SIGNED THE AGREEMENT, AND WE ARE DESIROUS THAT IT UNCLASSIFIED

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BE STRICTLY RESPECTED BY THE COMMUNISTS AND THAT INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE BE EXERTED IN ORDER TO INSURE ITS RESPECT. WE DO NOT WISH TO MAKE, OR ASK FOR, ANY CHANGES IN THE AGREEMENT.

59. WE WILL NOT ALLOW THE COMMUNISTS TO SUBSTITUTE MILITARY MEANS FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION--THAT IS, THE PARIS AGREEMENT, A CEASE-FIRE AND AN ELECTION. NOW THAT THE COMMUNISTS WANT TO SUBSTITUTE A WAR SOLUTION FOR A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION THROUGH A PEACEFUL ELECTION, WE MUST PREVENT THEM FROM DOING THIS. WE MUST PROVE TO THEM THAT THEY WILL FAIL IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO RESORT TO MILITARY ATTACKS, TO VIOLENCE, AND THAT THEIR RENEWED AGGRESSION WILL BE A FAILURE. THEY HAD BETTER SIT DOWN AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE TO SERIOUSLY CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS SO THAT AN ELECTION CAN SOON BE ORGANIZED. THE PURPOSE OF OUR REACTION NOW IS TO MAKE THE COMMUNISTS REALIZE THE USELESSNESS OF THEIR USE OF FORCE. THEY HAVE FOUGHT IN VAIN FOR THE PAST 18 OR 19 YEARS; THEY HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO CONQUER SOUTH VIETNAM. THEY WILL CERTAINLY GAIN NOTHING IN PROLONGING THE WAR FOR ANOTHER 18 OR 19 YEARS. THEREFORE, THEY HAD BETTER HOLD TALKS WITH US. WE CHALLENGE THEM TO USE POLITICAL STRUGGLE TO CONQUER SOUTH VIETNAM, AND THEN IMPOSE COMMUNISM ON IT.

60. WE MUST ALSO PROVE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD THAT THEY WERE REALLY IMPOTENT IN FAILING TO PREVENT THE COMMUNIST VIOLATIONS IN 1954 AND 1962, AND THAT NO ONE IS NOW CONFIDENT AS CONCERNS ANY AGREEMENT WITH INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES. WE MUST PROVE TO THEM THAT THE PEACE AGREEMENT ON VIETNAM IS NOT

ONLY DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN VIETNAM, BUT IS ALSO RELATED TO PEACE IN INDOCHINA AND THROUGHOUT THIS PART OF THE WORLD.

61. IF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS CAN FREELY AND CONSTANTLY GENERATE DISTURBANCES IN THIS AREA, TAKE OVER SOUTH VIETNAM AND PROVOKE HOSTILITIES EVERYWHERE, THIS IMPLIES THAT THE WORLD HAS INDUCED THEM TO ACT WRONGLY. IF THE COMMUNISTS ARE ALLOWED AND ENCOURAGED TO ACT WRONGLY AND, IF THE WORLD TURNS ITS HEAD AND FEIGNS IGNORANCE OR EVADES ITS

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RESPONSIBILITY TO GUARANTEE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT OF 27 JANUARY 1973, THIS MEANS THAT THE WORLD WISHES TO SABOTAGE PEACE IN INDOCHINA AND IN SOUTHEAST ASIA INSTEAD OF HELPING CONSOLIDATE THIS PEACE, AND FAILS TO FULFILL ITS RESPONSIBILITY.

62. WE MUST SAY IN A STRAIGHT FORWARD MANNER THAT, AS REGARDS OUR COUNTRY, WE MUST PROTECT IT TO THE END, UNTIL WE LOSE THE BATTLE. WE CANNOT EXPECT ANYONE'S ASSISTANCE, NOR CAN WE PAY ATTENTION TO PEOPLE SAYING: "STOP FIGHTING* NO ONE WILL COME." THOSE WHO HAVE SAID THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT YET LAUNCHED A GENERAL OFFENSIVE CAN COME HERE SO THAT I CAN CONDUCT THEM TO MILITARY BASES OR OUTPOSTS WHERE THEY CAN SPEND A SINGLE NIGHT, IN ORDER TO SEE WHETHER ROCKETS WILL BE POURED ON THEIR HEADS. OR LET THEM SEND THEIR CHILDREN THERE, IN ORDER TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE COMMUNIST ROCKETS WILL SPARE THEM. I WONDER WHY THEY CONTINUE TO TALK IN AN IRRESPONSIBLE MANNER.

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63. SO, WE MUST ACT; WE CANNOT WAIT AND SEE. THIS YEAR, I HAVE ADOPTED A CLEARCUT ATTITUDE. BEFORE SIGNING THE AGREEMENT, I HAD TOLD YOU AND OUR COMPATRIOTS THAT PEACE IN VIETNAM MUST BE A REALISTIC PEACE AND MUST BE ACHIEVED BY OURSELVES, AND THAT WE WOULD NOT BEG THE COMMUNISTS TO SELL US PEACE. THE PEACE THAT WOULD BE SOLD TO US WOULD BE A NORTH VIETNAM-TYPE PEACE. AS FAR AS THE NORTH VIETNAMESE LEADERS ARE CONCERNED, ONLY AFTER THEY HAVE TAKEN OVER THE SOUTH WILL THERE BE TRUE PEACE. FOR THIS REASON, TO COPE WITH THE COMMUNISTS' MOVES, I MUST DO WHAT I DID BEFORE SIGNING THE AGREEMENT. WE MUST BUILD A REALISTIC PEACE FOR OURSELVES. THIS IMPLIES THAT WE MUST PREVENT THE COMMUNISTS FROM WINNING OVER THE PEOPLE TO THEIR SIDE, ENCROACHING ON OUR LAND AND SOWING DISTURBANCES OF ALL KINDS. TO THIS END, I HAVE SET FORTH FOUR OBJECTIVES FOR THIS YEAR. WE MUST CONSOLIDATE OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, FOR WITHOUT SECURITY ON OUR TERRITORY WE CAN DO NOTHING. NATIONAL SECURITY IS A PRECONDITION FOR US TO DEVELOP OUR COUNTRY. NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IS ALSO A CONDITION FOR US TO CONSOLIDATE PEACE.

64. WE SHALL NOT WAIT FOR OTHERS TO BRING IN TROOPS TO HELP US, BECAUSE THIS WILL NEVER COME TRUE. WE ONLY ASK FOR SUFFICIENT AID WITH WHICH TO STRENGTHEN OUR ARMED FORCES, DEVELOP OUR, ECONOMIC STRENGTH AND DEFEND OURSELVES. OUR ARMED FORCES ARE NOT LACKING MEN, BUT WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION. WE ONLY ASK THAT OUR ALLY GIVE US SUFFICIENT AID. THERE IS NO NEED TO SEND
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U.S. TROOPS TO THIS COUNTRY.

65. IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, WE MUST ADMIT THE FACT THAT OUR COUNTRY HAS SUFFERED A LOSS. THIS LOSS HAS RESULTED FROM A SITUATION IN WHICH THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL BACKGROUND DIFFERS FROM THAT IN THE PAST. AFTER WORLD WAR II, THE ENTIRE WORLD VIGOROUSLY HELPED WEST GERMANY, JAPAN AND FRANCE RAPIDLY DEVELOP; AND THE SAME THING HAPPENED TO KOREA AFTER THE KOREAN WAR. IN PARTICULAR, THE UNITED STATES FORMULATED THE MARSHALL PLAN TO ASSIST THESE COUNTRIES.

66. BUT NOW WE ARE NOT ACCORDED THIS TREATMENT. WE HAVE HAD TO NEGOTIATE WITH OUR U.S. ALLY. HOWEVER, OUR ALLY--FACED WITH INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES SUCH AS THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE PROTESTS OF THOSE WHO FAIL TO KEEP ABREAST OF THE TIMES AND KNOW NOTHING, AND POLITICAL CHAOS--HAS BEEN FORCED TO ADOPT ITS PRESENT POLICY, WITHOUT ANY ALTERNATIVE. FORMERLY, I TOLD THE UNITED STATES: IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD AS WELL AS IN ITS OWN HISTORY, THE UNITED STATES HAS NEVER LET DOWN ITS ALLIES BEFORE THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR. NOW I AGREE WITH YOU ON THE VIETNAMIZATION PLAN--THAT IS ALLIED FORCES WILL WITHDRAW AND THE VIETNAMESE FORCES WILL BE MADE BIG AND STRONG. WE DO NOT LACK BLOOD AND BONES; AND WE ARE NOT COWARDLY AS CONCERNS REPLACING THE AMERICAN CITIZENS' BLOOD AND BONES WITH THOSE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE. WE ARE READY TO SACRIFICE OUR BLOOD AND BONES; BUT AFTER YOUR DEPARTURE, YOU MUST GIVE US MONEY TO HELP US SUSTAIN OUR BLOOD AND BONES IN ORDER TO RESIST COMMUNISM. ONLY IN THIS WAY WILL YOU BE ABLE TO FULFILL YOUR OBLIGATION AS AN ALLY LEADING THE FREE WORLD. OTHERWISE, IF YOU STOP CONTRIBUTING YOUR BLOOD AND BONES AS WELL AS YOUR MONEY, THIS MEANS THAT YOU COME HERE TO MAKE PEOPLE ANGRY AND THEN EVADE YOUR RESPONSIBILITY; AND THAT YOU WILL LEAVE YOUR ALLY TO THE CONQUEST OF THE COMMUNISTS.

67. THIS WAS WHAT I AFFIRMED TO THE UNITED STATES. IT CLEARLY PROMISED THAT "IT WOULD WITHDRAW TROOPS AND SEND IN MONEY TO HELP US FEED THE ARMY AND BUILD THE ECONOMY." FOR THIS REASON, I NOW TELL THE UNITED STATES AGAIN THAT ECONOMIC AID IS THE ONLY WEAPON WE ARE STILL AWAITING FROM IT.

68. WE ARE NOW ALSO RECEIVING ECONOMIC AID FROM OTHER
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COUNTRIES SUCH AS FRANCE AND JAPAN, BUT THIS AID IS NEGLIGIBLE AND SYMBOLIC. THEREFORE, YOUR AID IS IMPORTANT AND IS THE CHIEF WEAPON WITH WHICH WE CAN BUILD OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY; AND ON THIS BASIS, CAN FEED OUR ARMY AND CONSOLIDATE OUR STRENGTH. YES OR NO? WILL YOU DO THIS OR NOT? YOU MUST CONFIRM YOUR STAND. WILL YOU SHOULDER YOUR RESPONSIBILITY AS AN ALLIED COUNTRY TO STAY BY THE SIDE OF YOUR ALLY UNTIL DEATH, AND TO LEAD THE FREE WORLD TO PROTECT IT? IF YOUR ANSWER IS NO, WE HAVE NOTHING MORE TO SAY. WE WILL CERTAINLY FIGHT TO THE LAST BULLET. WHILE YOU WANT US TO BE IN THE POSITION WE ARE NOW, IF YOU KEEP CUTTING YOUR ECONOMIC AID TO US WE WOULD BE AT THE POINT OF SURRENDER TO THE COMMUNISTS. BUT WE SHALL NOT SURRENDER TO THE COMMUNISTS. WE WOULD RATHER FIGHT TO THE LAST BULLET AND THE LAST GRAIN OF RICE UNTIL WE ARE OVERWHELMED BY THE COMMUNISTS THAN SURRENDER TO THEM. THE OTHER HALF OF THIS NATION WAS FORSAKEN BY THE FRENCH COLONIALISTS AND NOW HAS TO LIVE UNDER A COMMUNIST REGIME. IF THE U.S. ALLY ALSO FORSAKES THIS HALF OF OUR NATION AND COUNTRY, IT WILL

END UP BY ADDING STRENGTH TO THE COMMUNIST EMPIRE. AND IN DUE COURSE, THE COMMUNIST EMPIRE WILL FIGHT YOU, PROBABLY WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF VIETNAM. THIS COUNTRY WILL, BY THEN, BE FORCED TO FIGHT YOU AGAINST ITS WILL.

69. PROOF OF THIS IS THE FACT THAT AFTER FRANCE FORSOOK HALF OF OUR COUNTRY, THE COMMUNISTS USED THIS HALF TO FIGHT THE UNITED STATES. THEY WILL MAKE PROPER USE OF ALL THEIR SATELLITES TO FIGHT THE FREE WORLD. IF WE WERE ABANDONED TO BECOME A SATELLITE OF THE COMMUNISTS, WE WOULD ONE DAY CERTAINLY HAVE TO FIGHT YOUR FREE WORLD--WHETHER WE WANTED TO OR NOT--WHEN WE WERE ORDERED TO BY THE COMMUNISTS. MY STAND HAS BEEN CONFIRMED. IF WE ARE ASKED: "GO AHEAD AND SIGN A COALITION AGREEMENT IN RETURN FOR AID," I DO NOT KNOW IF SOMEONE WOULD DO THAT, BUT CERTAINLY NOT ME.
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